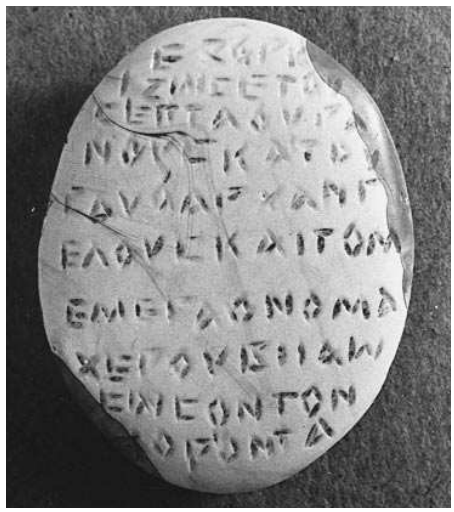
REMNANTS OF A LITURGICAL EXORCISM ON A GEM

A formerly unpublished blue and white-patinated chalcedony seems at first glance to record a simple magical prayer adjuring the heavenly realms and their hosts. Found in Asia Minor, the well-preserved gemstone can be transcribed as follows:[1]



Blue Chalcedony (Patinated white)
Asia Minor
Private Collection

᾽Εξορκ-
ίζω σε τοὺ-
ς ἑπτὰ οὐρα-
4 νοὺς κα῾ὶ΄ τοὺ-
ς δύο ἀρχανγ-
έλους καὶ τὸ {μ-
ε} μέγα ὄνομα
8 Χερουβί<ν>· ᾽Ιάω
σῶσον τὸν
φορο῾ῦ΄ντα.

Tr. "I adjure you by the seven heavens and the two archangels and the great name, Cherubim. Iaō, save the bearer!"

[1] The piece (H. 3.7 cm. x W. 2.9 cm.) is now in a private collection (London). I would like to thank the owner for the permission to publish it here. The gem's letter-forms

The stone is evenly covered on one surface with a somewhat compressed 'ἐξορκίζω'-formula: someone addressed "you" (line 2) — ostensibly the Ἰάω of line 8 — is placed under oath (ὅρκος)[2] by the seven heavens, the two archangels, the "Great Name", and the Cherubim. The aim of the adjuration is that Iaō deliver the man or child who carries the amulet.

On the other hand, closer scrutiny of the text's peculiar grammatical structure betrays something amiss. The short imperatival cliché at the end seems too far removed from σε to provide a meaningful match; and one would never expect the Hebrew god (Ἰάω = יהוה) to be adjured by his own creation, for this would make him subordinate to what is made; hence, "Iaō save the bearer" must be viewed as an independent petition naïvely grafted onto the prayer as a sort of afterthought. There is also a further problem with the placement of the word "Cherubim"; it seems clear that it should not be read with the "great name", as if in apposition, but that an additional "and by the" (following the overall pattern of the heavenly attributes) has dropped out.[3]

These incongruities in general suggest that there is more to the gem than a casual reading might first indicate. A comparison with exorcistic texts will recommend a different interpretation than that immediately implied by our stone's bewildering blend of formulas. The text preserves, it seems, a reworked liturgical exorcism that originally adjured an afflicting demon to depart from the bearer. Although the demon and expression of departure are no longer present on the stone, comparisons with other exorcistic formulas disclose its former existence and prove that the gem's text gives an abbreviated version of a once longer ritual to expel demons.

(*sans-serif*) can be assigned to the 2nd, or possibly early 3rd, century A.D.; cf. plates 103-104, 182, etc. in H. PHILIPP, *Mira et Magica*, Mainz am Rhein, 1986, whose dating I like. Since chalcedony is moderately hard among the glyptic materials (cf. J. RIEDERER, in PHILIPP, *op. cit.*, p. 131), irregularities in the letter-forms can be expected: slips occur in the *omicrons* of δύο and ἐξορκίζω and in the *epsilon* of ἑπτά. Corrections were also squeezed in at κα῾ι΄(line 4) and in φορ῾ῦ΄οντα (for φορο῾ῦ΄ντα). There is also dittography of με + μέγα. The reverse is uninscribed.

[2] The original sense of ἐξορκίζω is, of course, *to place one under*, or *bind one by*, an oath; or, *to administer an oath to someone*, as noted in R. MERKELBACH, *Astrologie, Mechanik, Alchimie und Magie im griechisch-römischen Ägypten,* in *Riggisberger Berichte,* 1 (1993), p. 49-62, esp. p. 61 (ἐξορκίζω is "*ich vereidige*", not "*ich beschwöre*"). 'Adjure', though not exact, is the best the English language has; it is no longer equivalent to the Latin *adjuro* (= 'to swear'); see P.B. GOVE, ed. *Webster's Third New International Dictionary,* Springfield, MA., 1981, s.v., p. 27: "**1:** *obs.* to put on oath ... **2:** to charge or command solemnly as if under oath or penalty of curse."

[3] That is, ἐξορκίζω σε τοὺς ἑπτὰ οὐρανοὺς καὶ τοὺς δύο ἀρχανγέλους καὶ τὸ μέγα ὄνομα <καὶ τὰ> Χερουβί<ν>, κτλ., "I adjure you *(by) the* seven heavens *and the* two archangels *and the* Great Name <*and the*> Cherubim", etc. See Commentary below.

THE USE OF THE ADJURATION IN EXORCISMS

The formula ἐξορκίζω σε, "I adjure you", is most frequently encountered in aggressive-coercive magic operations that compel *nekydaimones* and kindred spirits to render personal service on behalf of the practitioner. When occurring on protective amulets, on the other hand, the formula implies an altogether different purpose: it provokes wicked and disease-causing spirits to depart from a 'possessed' or afflicted person; in this context alone are they said to be truly 'exorcised'.[4]

But the words "I adjure you" also require a powerful agent *by which* the spirits are controlled. The use of κατά with the genitive, or the use of no preposition at all (double accusative), meets that requirement. In our gem, σε, with no apparent noun in apposition, stands completely isolated from the series of plural accusatives that immediately follow;[5] but the σε, precisely because it remains anonymous, is deceptively benign. It is, in truth, the afflicting demon.

No better illustration of this ambiguous use of the pronoun σε, in exorcistic contexts can be found than that occurring in a much-discussed spell of the Great Paris Magical Papyrus (*PGM* IV. 3007-3086).[6] This "Approved Spell of Pibechis for those Possessed by Demons" (πρὸς δαιμονιαζομένους Πιβήχεως δόκιμον) shows, like our gemstone, an

[4] Again, *Webster's Third New International Dictionary* defines 'exorcise', as: "**1 a:** to drive out or drive away (an evil spirit) by adjuration, esp. by use of a holy name or magic rites" (p. 798). This specialized sense is already observed for the ancient Greek, according to LSJ and BAG, s.vv. ἐξορκίζω ("*exorcise* an evil spirit", esp. in Acts 19:13,14 v. ll.). See in general on the phenomenon, R. KOTANSKY, *Greek Exorcistic Amulets*, in M. MEYER & P. MIRECKI, edd., *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power*, Leiden, 1995 [in press].

[5] Some texts also have εἰς + accusative (as in some examples, given below). Though σε is unidentified in our text, the use of a plural accusative (τοὺς οὐρανούς) immediately following avoids the usual confusion found in such constructions as ἐξορκίζω σε τὸν θεὸν τόν, κτλ.; This means, as a rule, "I adjure you *by* the god who ..." and not, "I adjure you, the god *who* ...." On the problem see A.D. NOCK, *et al*., *Magical Texts from a Bilingual Papyrus in the British Museum*, in *Proceedings of the British Academy,* 17 (1931), p. 266 (line 19) on Mark 5:7; W.M. BRASHEAR, *Magica Varia*, Papyrologica Bruxellensia 25; Brussels, 1991, p. 51, on *P. Carlsberg* 52 (inv. 31), line 25; cf. *PGM* XV. 9f. [next note]: ὁρκίζω ὑμᾶς δαίμονες τὴν συνέχουσαν ὑμᾶς βίαν καὶ ἀ[νά]νκην, "I adjure you demons *by* the force and necessity constraining you"; *PGM* IV. 3019, etc., below.

[6] K. PREISENDANZ & A. HENRICHS, *Papyri Graecae Magicae. Die griechischen Zauberpapyri*, 2 vols., Stuttgart 1973-74, vol. 1, p. 170-172 (hereafter cited *PGM* by papyrus number and line). On this important exorcism, see A. DEISSMANN, *Light from the Ancient East*, New York & London, 1910, p. 250-260 (with photographs, transcription, translation, and commentary) and p. 250, note 3 for older literature; W.L. KNOX, *Jewish Liturgical Exorcism,* in *HTR,* 31 (1938), p. 191-203.

unidentified use of σε, though the context eventually tells us it will be a demon. In lines 3033-34 of that spell, amidst a long, running series of ὁρκισμοί, one reads in particular, ὁρκίζω σε τὸν ὀπτανθέντα τῷ Ὀσραὴλ [sic] ἐν στύλῳ φωτινῷ καὶ νεφέλῃ ἡμερινῇ — "I adjure you (by the) one who appeared to Israel in a shining pillar and a cloud by day". The Greek gives here the same, sometimes confusing, double accusative (σε + τὸν ὀπτανθέντα) as that found on our gem; but only in lines 3037-38 is the σε specifically named as the demon: ὁρκίζω σε, πᾶν πνεῦμα, δαιμόνιον, λαλῆσαι, ὁποῖον καὶ ἂν ᾖς, "I adjure you — every spirit, demon — to tell what kind you are". Within the same series of oaths in the exorcism, we also encounter less ambiguous adjurations with κατά (+ genitive), as well as the double accusative; but in each case we see little mention of the demon. In fact, out of the fourteen adjurations contained in the whole Pibechean exorcism, only two actually name the σε as the possessing demon.[7]

A similar isolated use of the ἐξορκίζω σε is beautifully represented by a bilingual silver amulet in the Ashmolean museum, a text also full of liturgical material. After a protective prayer evidently addressed in the imperative to a *group* of divine gods and names — the imperative is given in the plural (φυλάξατε) — a *singular* demon (though unnamed) suddenly becomes the object of an 'exorcism' (ἐξορκίζω σε).[8]

The phrase ἐξορκίζω σε, then, seems at times to behave as a kind of 'fossilized' formula in which the singular pronoun becomes inextricably linked to the verb of adjuration; little care is taken to make known the

[7] Note, e.g., lines 3019f. (ὁρκίζω σε κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν Ἑβραίων Ἰησοῦ) and lines 3039f. (ὁρκίζω σε κατὰ τῆς σφραγῖδος) versus the ὁρκίζω σε λαβρια ιακουθ (of line 3029), and the double accusatives of lines 3045f. (ὁρκίζω σε θεὸν φωσφόρον, ἀδάμαστον) and the rest of the series of adjurations in lines 3045-3080. In the whole section entitled, ἔστιν δὲ ὁ ὁρκισμὸς οὗτος (3018-3080) — the serial exorcisms proper of approximately 62 lines — the demon is named in direct apposition to σε only at lines 3038, 3075 (though note also lines 3065 and 3026, in different contexts). Both 3038 and 3075 read, ὁρκίζω σε, πᾶν πνεῦμα δαιμόνιον, κτλ., a phrase that looks like a glossator's comment: δαιμόνιον must be a noun, as the adjective δαιμόνιος never means "demonic". An original πᾶν πνεῦμα, "every spirit", must have been glossed δαιμόνιον, "demon", for clarification, much in the same way that the Gospel of Luke favors δαιμόνιον for the Markan πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον.

[8] R. KOTANSKY, J. NAVEH and S. SHAKED, *A Greek-Aramaic Silver Amulet from Egypt in the Ashmolean Museum*, in *Le Muséon*, 105 (1992), p. 5-24, lines 31f.: (*magic names*) ... φυλάξ<α>τε τὸν Ἰωάνην ὃν ἔτεκε/ν μήτηρ Βενενάτα ἀπὸ πάντον δεμόνον ἀπαντήματος … ἐξορκίζο σε, (*magic signs*), κτλ., protect (*pl.*) John whom / a mother Benenata bore, from every encounter with demons ... I adjure you (*sg.*)", etc. Note also, in the same spell, the concluding liturgical formula: ἀπόστηθι, ἐχσορκήζω σε κατὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος Ἀδωναὶ Ἔλουε Σαβαώθ, τοῦ καθη/μένου ἐν τοῦ θρώνου δόξῃ, κτλ., "Be gone! I adjure you (*sg.*) in the name of the *Lord God of Hosts* who sits in the glory of the throne", etc. (lines 36f., with Commentary, p. 22f., for parallels from liturgical exorcisms). See also the example from a carnelian, discussed below, note 26.

identity of the pronoun. There must have also come a time, too, when ἐξορκίζω σε alone proved sufficient enough to refer automatically to the expulsion of demons (hence = "I *exorcise* you"), without any accompanying verb of departure. Although ἐξορκίζω (= "I adjure") on curse-tablets routinely addresses spirits of the dead, the locution on healing amulets becomes a plain formula of exorcism.[9] This is what appears to be the case with our small gem (and with the Ashmolean amulet, cited above). Furthermore, with exorcisms the entities *by which* evil spirits are adjured feature celestial components — the heavenly realms of God, the archangels, and other divine elements; but with the *defixiones*, on the other hand, the demons are sharply adjured by elements of a distinctly netherworldly environment — bitter Necessity, the fearful names, and the generally chthonian realms of Hekate and Pluto.[10]

With this in mind, it can be securely argued that the ἐξορκίζω σε of the opening lines of our gemstone exorcises an 'unnamed' demon by the celestial realms and their inhabitants, and that the formula could well have used repeating adjurations with the naming of each heavenly element. The only advantage that the Paris papyrus sheet has over the tiny gemstone is that the size of its writing surface can accomodate the longer, more repetitive, serial adjurations usual found with these exorcisms; our gem can only include a single ὁρκισμός, containing, however, four or more distinct parts.

GREEK LITURGICAL EXORCISMS

The Pibechian spell, being based largely on haggadic or midrashic material from the Hebrew Bible, shows a certain borrowing of traditional Jewish elements and exorcistic formulations for casting out demons. The recurring allusions to the powerful acts of God, or heroes like Moses, David, Solomon, and others, give as many liturgical variations as biblical tradition and doctrine would allow. Equivalent exorcisms, containing both Jewish and Christian elements have been found

[9] For "I adjure you" on curse tablets, note D.G. MARTINEZ, *P. Michigan XVI. A Greek Love Charm from Egypt (P. Mich. 757)*, American Studies in Papyrology 30; Atlanta, 1991, p. 27,14, p. 75; for the formula on protective amulets, see R. KOTANSKY, *Greek Magical Amulets. The Inscribed Gold, Silver, Copper, and Bronze* Lamellae. Part I: *Published Texts of Known Provenance*, Abhandlungen der Nordrhein-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Sonderreihe PAPYROLOGICA COLONIENSIA, vol. XXII/1, Opladen, 1994, **51**,1 (p. 267); **52**,1 (p. 281); **56**,13 (p. 324f.); **67**,1 (p. 384); **68** [1] (p. 388).

[10] Cf., by way of example, MARTINEZ, *P. Mich. XVI* (prev. note), p. 27,14: ὅτι σε ἐξορκίζω, νεκυδαίμων, κατὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ φοβεροῦ καὶ τρομεροῦ, οὗ ἡ γῆ τὸ ὄνομα ἀκούσασα ἀνοιγήσεται, κτλ., "Because I adjure you, *nekydaimon*, by the name that causes fear and trembling, upon the hearing of which name the earth shall open", etc. See, further, KOTANSKY, *Greek Exorcistic Amulets* (n. 4 above).

somewhat intact in the Greek magical papyri, and, in more fragmentary conditions, on the magic *lamellae* and curse-tablets. In these texts, too, the unclean demon is adjured by God's creative and salvific acts, his divine attributes, his celestial throne, or the hosts of angelic beings.

Exorcistic adjurations (ἐξορκισμοί) expelling evil spirits by the recitation of the mighty deeds of God are also widely documented from texts of a somewhat later period. Such liturgical exorcisms are preserved in medieval manuscripts in the form of separate handbooks or are scattered among larger collections that house various divinatory astrologoumena, magico-medical recipes, and pseudo-Solomonic anecdota. The more important of the longer corpora are those published by GOAR (1647), VASSILIEV (1893), DMITRIEVSKIJ (1901), PRADEL (1907), and primarily, A. DELATTE (1927).[11] Examples of shorter handbooks or only partially edited exorcistic manuscripts have also been published by REITZENSTEIN (1904), STRITTMATTER (1932), L. DELATTE (1957), and most recently JACOB (1971), to name a few.[12] Partially published texts and important studies, too, can be found in ARNAUD (1909, 1913).[13] A

[11] J. GOAR, *EUCHOLOGION. Sive rituale Graecorum*, Venice, 1647; A.A. VASSILIEV, *Anecdota graeco-byzantina*, I, Moskow, 1893; A. DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Opisanie liturgičeskich rukopisej chranjaščichsja v bibliotekach pravoslavnago Vostaoka,* t. II, Εὐχολόγια, Kiev, 1901; F. PRADEL, *Griechische und süditalienische Gebete, Beschwörungen und Rezepte des Mittelalters*, RVV 3/3; Giessen, 1907; A. DELATTE, *Anecdota Atheniensia,* Tome I. *Textes grecs inédits relatifs à l'histoire des religions*, Liège & Paris, 1927.

[12] R. REITZENSTEIN, *Beigabe III. Amulette,* in *Poimandres. Studien zur griechisch-ägyptischen und frühchristlichen Literatur*, Leipzig, 1904, p. 291-303; A. STRITTMATTER, *Ein griechisches Exorzismusbüchlein, Orientalia Christiana De Oriente documenta, studia et libri* XX-3, no. 66 (1930), p. 169-178; (Introduction); idem, *Orientalia Christiana, De Oriente documenta, studia et libri* XXVI-2, no. 78 (1932), p. 127-144 (Text); L. DELATTE, *Un Office Byzantin d'Exorcisme (Ms. de la Lavra du Mont Athos, Θ 20*) Académie royale de Belgique, Classe des lettres, Mémoires, 52; Brussels, Palais des Académies, 1957; A. JACOB, *Un exorcisme inédit du Vat. gr. 1572,* in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica,* 37 (1971), p. 244-249; see also idem, *L'Euchologe de Porphyre Uspenski, Co. Leningr. gr. 226 (X^e siècle)*, in *Le Muséon*, 78 (1965), p. 173-214, esp. 53, 130, 132, 134, 221-224, and A. ALMAZOV, *Istorija činoposljedovanij krešćenija i muropomazanija*, Kazan, 1884; A. STRITTMATTER, *The "Barberinum S. Marci" of Jacques Goar,* in *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, 47 (1933), p. 329-367; P.N. TREMPELAS, Αἱ τρεῖς Λειτουργίαι κατὰ τοὺς ἐν Ἀθήναις κώδικας, *Texte und Forschungen zur byzantinisch-neugriechischen Philologie*, hrsg. N.A. BEES, 15, Athens, 1935, to get an indication of the amount of such material, published and unpublished. See also note 32, below.

[13] L. ARNAUD, *L'exorcisme de Tryphon le Martyr*, in *Échos d'Orient,* 12 (1909), p. 201-205; idem, *L'exorcisme gnostique par le 'Grand Nom' dans l'euchologe grec*, in *Échos d'Orient,* 16 (1913), p. 123-133; idem, *L'exorcisme κατὰ τῆς Ἄβρας attribué à Saint Grégoire,* in *Échos d'Orient,* 16 (1913), p. 292-304; note also idem, *Quelques superstitions liturgiques chez les Grecs,* in *Échos d'Orient,* 14 (1911), p. 75-80. Important, too, is the interpolated exorcism in MS. L (XV cent., British Museum, Harleian 5596) of the *Testament of Solomon* (ed. MCCOWN), on which see H.M. JACKSON, *Notes on the Testament of Solomon,* in *JSJ,* 19 (1988) p. 19-60, esp. p. 20f. (with note 3); p. 38, 39, 40, 43, 45, etc. and a future study by R. Kotansky.

glance at the published catalogues of medieval manuscripts in major European and American libraries suggests that many such collections of ἐξορκισμοί still remain unedited.

These liturgical exorcisms as a whole, though preserved in manuscripts of late date, share many points of contact with their older counterparts on papyrus and contain a valuable source of information on the whole history of exorcistic texts and amulets. Since these later MSS. provide the most *comparanda* from which to draw, they shall represent the main source for our commentary.

COMMENTARY

The Seven Heavens

The seven heavens (τοὺς ἑπτὰ οὐρανούς) are named first in the list of items by which the spirit, or demon, is exorcised. Though our text gives only a single adjuration formula (ἐξορκίζω σε), each of the celestial elements, seven heavens, archangels, etc., is to be understood as the object of the adjuration.

The naming of all seven heavens, without their specific enumeration one by one, suggests a shortened text, for adjurations of the seven heavens in the lengthier exorcisms actually enumerate each individual spheres along with the angel in charge of his respective celestial realm. PRADEL (1907), p. 273, 19ff. provides the following illustrative example:

Ἑτέρα εὐχὴ ἀρχαγγελικὴ εἰς ὀχλούμενον ὑπὸ πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων καὶ εἰς ἀρρώστους.
ὁρκίζω σε πᾶν πονηρὸν καὶ ἀκάθαρτον πνεῦμα κατὰ τοῦ πρῶτου οὐρανοῦ τὸν πρῶτον ἄγγελον Μηέρ,
ὁρκίζω σε κατὰ τοῦ δευτέρου οὐρανοῦ τὸν πρῶτον ἄγγελον Σισθίηλ,
ὁρκίζω σε κατὰ τοῦ τρίτου οὐρανοῦ τὸν πρῶτον ἄγγελον Βιθεέμ, κτλ.

> "Another archangelic prayer[14] for one troubled by unclean spirits and for the sick:
> "I adjure you, every wicked and unclean spirit by the first angel of the first heaven, Mêer,
> "I adjure you by the first angel of the second heaven, Sisthiel,
> "I adjure you by the first angel of the third heaven, Bithehem", etc.

[14] Cf. also the archangelic hierarchy in R. REITZENSTEIN (1904), p. 296ff. in a similarly named ὕμνος ἀρχαγγελικός (*Ms. Paris.* 2316, Fol. 316r), referred to also in *PGM* XIII. 971, see M. SMITH in H.D. BETZ, ed., *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation, Including the Demotic Spells*, vol. I: *Texts*, Second Edition, Chicago, 1992, p. 193f., n. 136.

But the same context also gives an 'abbreviated' reference to a seven-heaven adjuration: ἔτι ὁρκίζω σε καὶ ἐξορκίζω σε εἰς τὸ ἑπταπέταλον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, κτλ. (PRADEL [1907], p. 271, 4); such stereotypical references to the seven heavens are common in liturgical exorcisms.[15]

Naming of celestial hierarchies is also found on actual amulets of an earlier period, amulets whose texts are also exceptionally liturgical and invite comparison, in the broader scheme, with the exorcisms of the Byzantine manuscripts. For example, the important Louvre silver *lamella* (Inv. MND 274, 4th cent. A.D.)[16] contains a long invocation naming each of the seven heavens, the attendant angel, including as well as an appended catalogue of angels over elements and phenomena of nature. So also, a Christian magical papyrus, *PGM* P 10 (= *P. Rain.* 1, *P. Graec.* 337 of the National Library of Vienna), preserves a fragment of a Christian liturgical exorcism with reference to an adjuration by the seven heavens.[17]

The Two Archangels

Angels and archangels abound in magical texts, being named singularly or in groups, with the most common enumeration being the famous four, Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, and Ouriel.[18] An adjuration by only two, however, seems unusual. Though the Cherubim are often referred to as two in number,[19] this cannot be our writer's intention, since the Cherubim are named separately in line 8. The only other place where the

[15] For example, DELATTE (1927) — entitled Εὐχὴ ἑτέρα· Γρηγορίου τοῦ Θεολόγου — p. 246, 5f., ὁρκίζω ὑμᾶς εἰς τὰ ἑπτὰ στερεώματα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὅπου εἰσὶν μύριαι μυριάδες ἁγίων ἀγγέλων καὶ ἀρχαγγέλων κράζοντες καὶ λέγοντες· ἅγιος, ἅγιος, Κύριος Σαβαώθ, κτλ.; similarly, DELATTE (1927), p. 27, 14-16: ὁρκίζω ὑμᾶς, πνεύματα, ἀπάνω εἰς τοὺς ἑπτὰ πλανήτας καὶ εἰς τὰ ἑπτὰ μέταλλα τούτου τοῦ οὐρανοῦ; DELATTE (1957) p. 57, 20 / p. 58, 2f.: ἐξορκίζω ὑμᾶς … καὶ τῶν ἑπτὰ οὐρανῶν, κτλ.

[16] Recently republished with text, facsimile, and commentary in KOTANSKY, *Greek Magical Amulets*, Part I, **52**, p. 270-300; cf. also *PGM* XXXV (5th cent. A.D.). For similar hierarchies, see REITZENSTEIN (1904), p. 296, 5-15; p. 297, 1-9; 16-23, and references in KOTANSKY, *Greek Magical Amulets*, Part I, p. 271-275.

[17] Lines 14f. of that papyrus read ὁρκίζω αὐτὸ τοὺ[ς ἑπτὰ κύκλους] τοῦ οὐρανοῦ (as restored by Wessely). The appropriate parallels to the later exorcisms of DELATTE (1927) and VASSILIEV (1893) have in this instance been noted in the critical apparatus of PREISENDANZ & HENRICHS, vol. 2, p. 218.

[18] See R. KOTANSKY, *Two Inscribed Jewish Aramaic Amulets from Syria,* in *IEJ,* 41 (1991), p. 267-281, esp. p. 276 and note 14; KOTANSKY, *Greek Magical Amulets*, part, I, **26**, p. 105, etc.

[19] *PGM* XXXV.12f.: ὁ καθήμενος … μέσον τῶν δύο Χερουβὶ<ν> καὶ Σαραφὶν ὑμνολογού<ν>των τὸν κύριον, κτλ.; *PGM* XIII.254-56 (= XIII.334f.): ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν δύο Χερουβείν, ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν δύο φύσεων, οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς, ἡλίου τε καὶ σελήνης, κτλ.; the Louvre silver piece (KOTANSKY, *Greek Magical Amulets,* Part I, **52**, p. 290f., 68-71): Ὁ καθέμενος ἐπὶ τῷ ΘΑΛΟΥΜΘΟΥΣΙΝ (perhaps read θρόνῳ δόξης (?)) μέσον τῶν δύ<ο> Χηρουβίν, κτλ.

peculiar phrase, "the two archangels", is encountered again occurs in a liturgical context. In an exorcism that also lists adjurations by the great name of God, the seven heavens, and the Cherubim,[20] our two archangels are specified as Gabriel and Raphael. The relevant portion reads as follows: ὁρκίζω ὑμᾶς, πνεύματα, εἰς τοὺς δύο ἀρχαγγέλους, Γαβριὴλ καὶ Ῥαφαήλ, ἵνα ἔλθετε ἔμπροσθέν μου τάχιστα καὶ συντομώτατα, "I adjure you, spirits, by the two archangels, Gabriel and Raphael, that you come (out) before me, most quickly and immediately" (DELATTE [1927], p. 27, 23-25). Virtually the same text occurs in the portion of the MS. labelled *Traité de Magie de Salomon* (DELATTE, [1927], p. 420, 9f.): ὁρκίζω ὑμᾶς, πνεύματα, εἰς τοὺς δύο μεγάλους ἀρχαγγέλους, Γαβριὴλ καὶ Ῥαφαήλ, ἵνα ἔλθετε ὧδε προθύμως, τάχιστα, συντομώτατα, "I adjure you, spirits, by the two great archangels, Gabriel and Raphael, that you come here eagerly, most quickly and immediately".[21] The wording of these adjurations — particularly that of the first, τοὺς δύο ἀρχαγγέλους — compares precisely with the phrase found on our gem. The common references to "the two archangels" in both the liturgical exorcism and on our gem no doubt points to a shared textual *Vorlage*.

The "Great Name" and the Cherubim

We have already discussed above that our gem, in its simplest form, must have read something like <καὶ τὰ> Χερουβί(ν), "and *by the* Cherubim". This is the sort of abbreviation one would expect on so small a gemstone. But the broader context of the liturgies shows the fuller role that the Cherubim (and Seraphim) play; they attend the throne of God singing together the heavenly trisagion.[22] A typical

[20] Cf. DELATTE (1927), p. 26, 3f.: ὀνόματα τοῦ μεγαλοδυνάμου Θεοῦ; idem, p. 26, 28f.: ὁρκίζω σας, πνεύματα, εἰς τὸν θεὸν ὃς κάθεται ἐπὶ τῶν Χερουβίμ; idem, p. 27, 14f.: ὁρκίζω ὑμᾶς, πνεύματα, ἐπάνω εἰς τοὺς ἑπτὰ πλανήτας καὶ εἰς τὰ ἑπτὰ μέταλλα τούτο τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.

[21] In this second reference, however, (where the archangels are called 'great') the words ὧδε προθύμως have replaced ἔμπροσθέν of the first example. The similarity between ΠΡΟΘΥΜΩΣ and ΠΡΟΣΘΕΝΜΟΥ suggests a corruption of a common model formula; either one or the other is presumably wrong. An adjuration of *three* archangels occurs in the so-called *Archangelic Prayer for One Troubled by Unclean Spirits and for Illnesses* (discussed above): Ὁρκίζω σε εἰς τοὺς Γ′ ἀγγέλους ἀσὰ καὶ ἀφὰ καὶ νινευέον, "I adjure you by the three angels, Asa and Apha and Nineveon" (PRADEL [1907], p. 274, 16; with commentary, p. 308).

[22] Although the *locus classicus*, Isaiah 6:2-3 (LXX), actually names only the Seraphim (and not the Cherubim) standing around the throne of God and singing (καὶ σεραφιν εἱστήκεισαν κύκλῳ αὐτοῦ, ἓξ πτέρυγες τῷ ἑνὶ καὶ ἓξ πτέρυγες τῷ ἑνὶ … ἐκέκραγον ἕτερος πρὸς τὸν ἕτερον καὶ ἔλεγον Ἅγιος ἅγιος ἅγιος κύριος σαβαωθ, πλήρης πᾶσα ἡ γῆ τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ), later texts, understandably, connect the two

exorcistic text reads, for example, as follows: ὁρκίζω σε κατὰ τοῦ καθημένου ἐπὶ θρόνου δόξης αὐτοῦ … ἐν ᾧ παρίστανται … Σεραφὶμ κεκραγότα ὑπεράνω τοῦ θρόνου καὶ Χερουβὶμ ἐπισκιάζοντα τὸ ἱλαστήριον καὶ λέγοντα· ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος Κύριος Σαβαώθ, κτλ., "I exorcise you by the One who sits upon the throne of his own glory ... whereby the Seraphim stand, crying out above the throne, and the Cherubim overshadow the mercy-seat and say, 'Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord Sabaoth'", etc. (DELATTE [1927], p. 229, 16-21).[23] This makes the "Great Name" refer to God, specifically to his divine and Ineffable Name; it is not a reference to the Cherubim, for the Cherubim are only important in bearing up the throne upon which God sits.[24] In liturgical

groups, based no doubt on the depiction of the two gold Cherubim who support the mercy seat of God (covering the ark of the Holy of Holies) — Exod. 25:18-20 (LXX):καὶ ποιήσεις δύο χερουβιμ χρυσᾶ τορευτὰ καὶ ἐπιθήσεις αὐτὰ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν κλιτῶν τοῦ ἱλαστηρίου … ἔσονται οἱ χερουβιμ ἐκτείνοντες τὰς πτέρυγας ἐπάνωθεν, συσκιάζοντες ταῖς πτέρυξιν αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἱλαστηρίου, κτλ. From thence derive numerous Biblical references to God "sitting upon" the Cherubim (II Kings 6:2; 22:11; IV Kings 19:15; Ps. 79:2; 98:1; Is. 37:16; Dan. 3:55).

[23] See also DELATTE (1927), p. 231,12: (ὁρκίζω ὑμᾶς) … εἰς τὰ πολυόμματα Χερουβὶμ καὶ εἰς τὰ ἑξαπτέρυγα Σεραφίμ, κτλ. (followed by the trisagion); DELATTE (1927) p. 231,37 / p. 232,1f.: ὁρκίζω σε, πνεῦμα πονηρόν, εἰς τὸν ἀόρατον Θεὸν Σαβαὼθ τὸν καθήμενον ἐπὶ τῶν Χερουβίμ, κτλ.; DELATTE (1927), p. 26,28f.: ὁρκίζω σας, πνεύματα, εἰς τὸν θεὸν ὃς κάθηται ἐπὶ τῶν Χερουβίμ; DELATTE (1927), p. 242,14: ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν Χερουβὶμ καθήμενος (εὐχή of Gregory the Theologian, followed by the trisagion); DELATTE (1927), p. 246,35: ὁρκίζω σε κατὰ τῶν πολυομμάτων Χερουβὶμ καὶ τῶν ἑξαπτερύγων Σεραφίμ (cf. also p. 27,1); PRADEL (1907), p. 263,28-30: ὁρκίζω ὑμᾶς κατὰ τὰς ἁγίας δυνάμεις πολυόμματα Χερουβὶμ ἑξαπτέρυγα Σεραφὶμ τὰ περιϊπτάμενα κύκλῳ τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ κράζοντα· ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος Κύριος Σαββαώθ, κτλ. (εὐχή of the Great Martyr Trypho); *PGM* VII. 633f.: Μενωφρι, ὁ ἐπὶ τὰ Χερο[υ]βὶν καθήμενος; *PGM* 21.5f.: καθήμενον ἐπάνω Χερουβὶν ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ; *PGM* IV. 3058-3061: ὁρκίζω σε τὸν … (sc. God), ὃν ὑμνοῦσι τὰ πτερυγώματα τοῦ χερουβίν; *PGM* O(strakon) 3.6: ... καὶ λέγοντες· ἅγιος ὁ θεός, ὃν ἀνυμνοῦσι τὰ χερουβίν, κτλ.; *PGM* XXIIb 5, 14 (heavily restored). The trisagion is, of course, absent on our gem; only the Cherubim are mentioned.

[24] A simple τῶν before Χερουβίν would have resolved any doubt had the writer's intention been to mean "*by the* great name **of the** Cherubim". A brief discussion of the Cherubim depicted and/or named on gemstones is given in C. BONNER, *Studies in Magical Amulets*, p. 29, with special reference to A. DE RIDDER, *Collection de Clercq. Catalogue*, Tome VII*: Les bijoux et les pierres gravées,* Paris, 1911, pt. 2, p. 780, no. 3472 (gemstone inscribed Χερουβίν). R.P. C. DU MOLINET, *Le Cabinet de la Bibliothèque de Sainte Geneviève, divisé en deux parties*, Paris, 1692, 124-129. In particular, a green jasper in the British Museum, first described by C.W. KING, *The Gnostics and their Remains*, San Diego, 1982, repr. of 1888 ed., p. 441f. (PL. H) and noted by BONNER without knowledge of King, gives a stylized depiction of the Ark of the Covenant, flanked on either side by a pair of winged, cherubic figures. The Ark is inscribed with the Latin letters *TETA/GRAM/E/TON*, clearly a blunder for Τετραγράμματον. King realized that the model for this Ark was in fact the Roman 'Altar of Lyons' depicted on the reverse of coin types of Tiberius. BONNER mentions the piece and the Ineffable Name but seems unaware of King. A good photograph and analysis can be found most recently in M. SMITH, *Old Testament Motifs in the Iconography of the British Museum's Magical Gems,* in L. CASSON,

exorcisms, the μέγα ὄνομα is never used of the Cherubim, but only of God.[25] In fact, in such contexts, though μέγα ὄνομα and Χερουβίμ are juxtaposed, or fall in close proximity, they are always kept separate. This again suggests that the model behind our gem's text was actually a longer liturgical exorcism that has become severely conflated. Parallels from the liturgical exorcisms again provide a plausible nexus: ἐξορκίζω ὑμᾶς πάντα τὰ δαιμόνια … εἰς τὸ μέγα ὄνομα τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ εἰς τὰ πολυόμματα Χερουβίμ, κτλ., "I *exorcise* all you demons ... by the *great name* of God and by the many-eyed *Cherubim*", etc. (DELATTE [1927], p. 232,26-30); cf. idem, p. 504, 25-27: ὀμνύω σας εἰς τὸν θεὸν τῶν Χερουβὶμ καθήμενον, οὗ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἐλωὲ Κέσαρ, ἑλωέ, κτλ., "I abjure you by the God who sits upon the Cherubim, who name is Elôe, Kesar, Helôe", etc.; idem, p. 97, 23-27: Ὁρκίζω σε ἐπὶ θρόνου Θεοῦ Σαβαώθ, θεορκίζω σε εἰς τὰ Χερουβὶμ καὶ εἰς δ΄ εὐαγγελισταίς, Λουκᾶν, Ματθαῖον, Μάρκον, Ἰωάννην, <εἰς> τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν Σεραφίμ, ὁρκίζω σας εἰς τὸ μέγα ὄνομα τοῦ Θεοῦ, "I *exorcise you*, ... on (sic) the throne of God Sabaoth, I 'God-*exorcise*' *you* by the *Cherubim* and by the four Gospels, Luke, Matthew, Mark, John, <by> the One upon the Seraphim; I *exorcise* you by the *great name* of God".

Given the limited space of our gemstone's surface, the engraver had to content himself with a reduced model. An exorcism by the great name and the Cherubim serves as a mere reminder of the longer liturgical forms that included God sitting on his heavenly throne with

ed., *Coins, Culture, and History, ... in Honor of Bluma Trell*, Detroit, 1981, p. 187-194, esp. p. 190. Besides this, the only reference in a magical context that I know of using the name of the Cherubim as a powerful name occurs in the *Testament of Solomon* (ed. MCCOWN) XVIII.34: ἐάν τις, βαλεῖ ἅλας εἰς ἔλαιον καὶ ἐπαλείψει τὸν ἀσθενὴν λέγων· ˙χερουβίμ, σεραφίμ, βοηθεῖτε᾽, εὐθὺς ἀναχωρῶ, "If anyone casts salt into olive oil and anoints the sick, saying, 'Cherubim, Seraphim, help (so-and-so)', I immediately depart".

[25] Note, for starters, DELATTE (1927) p. 231,33f.: ὁρκίζω ὑμᾶς εἰς τὸ μέγα ὄνομα τοῦ Θεοῦ; idem, p. 123,14f.; p. 249,32; PRADEL (1907), p. 263,24f.: ὁρκίζω ὑμᾶς κατὰ (in a text entitled, Εὐχὴ τοῦ μεγάλου μάρτυρος Τρύφωνος), and see below. The 'great name' (used of Iaō, as here) also occurs on a gem published by D. WORTMANN, *Neue magische Gemmen,* in *Bonner Jahrbücher,* 175 (1975), p. 63-82, n. 15, p. 76ff., lines 14-18: ἐπιτάσσει σοι τὸ μέγα ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ πανκουθεν (? = παντοκράτορος), Ἰάω Σαβαώθ (orthography here standardized). For an example of ἐξορκίζω σε + the 'great name' in a 'pagan' context, see *PGM* I.225: ἐξορκίζω σε τὸ μέγα ὄνομα, βορκη φοιουρ, κτλ.; see also L. ARNAUD, *L'exorcisme gnostique 'par le Grand Nom' dans l'Euchologe grec*, in *Échos d'Orient*, 16 (1913), p. 123-133 (cited above, n. 13). Our gem's Μέγα Ὄνομα also anticipates the Great Name in the magic of later Hekhalot texts; note the mention of an Aramaic text reciting the 'Great Name' in M.D. SWARTZ, *Book and Tradition in Hekhalot and Magical Literature*, in *Journal of Jewish Thought and Philosophy*, 3 (1994), p. 189-229, p. 222.

the many-eyed Cherubim, and possibly winged Seraphim, in attendance.[26]

The Closing Formula

Ἰάω is the Hebrew god (יהוה) of magical texts, Jewish, Christian, and pagan alike. Though frequent as a magic name in the papyri and on gemstones, here Iaō still retains his identification as the god of the Jews; the liturgical text of this gemstone does not seem to permit any of the usual magic *voces magicae* so common to the gems and papyri.

We have suggested above that Ἰάω probably does not refer back to the σε of line 2. Direct adjurations or 'exorcisms' of the Hebrew God are difficult to account for; the usual mode of expression is to adjure someone *by* God.[27] Further, it seems more probable that the σε of line 2 addresses an unnamed demon who is being 'exorcised' from the bearer of the charm. Ιάω, being so far removed from the address of the singular pronoun σε, must represent a separate vocative attached to the following imperative. The resultant prayer, σῶσον τὸν φοροῦντα, did not originally form part of the liturgical fragment; it is only a variant of a common magic formula, διαφύλαξον τὸν φοροῦντα, "*protect* the bearer",

[26] As, for example, on the beautiful exorcism carved on a carnelian in: A. DELATTE & Ph. DERCHAIN, *Les intailles magiques gréco-égyptiennes,* Paris, 1964, p. 316f.; no. 460, lines 1-5, 12-16: Ἐξορκίζω σε θεὸν τὸν μέγαν Βαρβαθιαὼθ τὸν Σαβαὼθ θεὸν … τὸν καθήμενον ἐπάνω τοῦ Χερουβί, etc., "I exorcise you by the great god Barbathiēaōth, by the God Sabaōth ... who sits upon the Cherubim"; cf. L. ROBERT, *Amulettes grecques,* in *Journal des Savants,* 1981, p. 6-27, for further study. The lengthy text is the sort normally found only on papyrus, and one is lead to believe that such liturgical exorcisms occur on gemstones only because of a lack of available papyrus.

[27] For example, Matt. 26:63: Ἐξορκίζω σε κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος ἵνα ἡμῖν εἴπῃς εἰ σὺ εἶ ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, and commonly in magical texts. A seemingly direct adjuration of God himself on the recently reedited Berlin lead tablet (R.W. DANIEL & F. MALTOMINI, *Supplementum Magicum, Vols. I-II (Suppl. Mag. I)*, Abhandlungen der Nordrhein-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Sonderreihe PAPYROLOGICA COLONIENSIA XVI.1-2; Opladen, 1990, 1992, vol. I, no. 39), is in fact an adjuration of a demon. Though line 7f. appears to adjure "the lord god Iaō" — ὅτι ἐξορκίζω τὸν πάντα συνέχοντα κύριον θεὸν Ιαω, (*magic names*) σὺ εἶ ὁ μέγας θεὸς (*magic names*), "For I adjure the lord god who embraces everything ... you are the great god", etc. (p. 124) — line 1f. actually shows that the text is addressing a *nekydaimon*: ἐξορκίζω σε, νεκύδαιμον, καὶ δ<ι>εγείρω [τὸν] δαίμονά σου· διακόνησόν μοι εἰς Ἀπλωνοῦν ἣν ἔτεκεν Ἀρσινόη, "I adjure you, corpse-daemon, and awaken your daemon. Serve me in regard to Aplonous, whom Arsinoe bore...". The formula at line 7f. should in fact be interpreted, "I adjure (you) by the lord god, who embraces everything, Iaō ..." etc. Note further, DANIEL & MALTOMINI, *Suppl. Mag.* I, no. 42, 40f.: ἐξορκίζω σε τὸν ὅλον κόσμον, ἀρχὴν μίαν, μεμερισμένον, "for I adjure you *by the one who* divided the entire universe, a single realm", etc. (for difficulties of interpretation, see idem, *Suppl. Mag.* I, p. 149). These may actually preserve fragments of exorcisms, since they adjure demons by the Jewish creator god.

found on a wide variety of papyrus and gemstone amulets, but seldom in exorcisms.[28] Sometimes both σῴζω and διαφυλάσσω occur in conjunction.[29] The free use of different, and sometimes incompatible, prayer and adjuration formulas on magic amulets is also occasionally found. The imperative σῶσον usually appears, as here, on amulets in a variety of non-medical contexts;[30] it can, nonetheless, refer both to deliverance from present earthly danger or to liberation in the world to come. In antiquity any illness was greeted with great caution and viewed as potentially life-threatening; hence, the need to appeal to a more global salvation lurked constantly in the mind of the believer.[31]

CONCLUSION

This innocent little text carved on a gemstone for protection has preserved for us a fragmentary liturgy well-documented from the corpora of

[28] The generic τὸν φορο(ῦ)ντα is routinely encountered irrespective of the therapeutic action envisioned; cf. DANIEL & MALTOMINI, *Suppl. Mag.* I, no. 2, 8f.: φύλαξον τὸν φοροῦ<ν>τα (silver lamella); idem, 15, 6f.: φύλαξον τὸν φορ<ο>ῦ<ν>τα; DELATTE & DERCHAIN, *Intailles magiques*, p. 242, no. 333: Ἀρρωρίφρασις δὸς τὴν χάριν, τῷ φοροῦντι. For examples with both the feminine and masculine participles, note DANIEL & MALTOMINI, *Suppl. Mag.* I, no. 30, 4: Ἰ(ησο)[ῦ] Χ(ριστ)έ, εἴασε τὸν φοροῦντα{ν} ἢ τὴν [φοροῦσαν]; C. BONNER, *Studies in Magical Amulets*, p. 215: … φυλάξατ[ε τ]ὸν φοροῦνταν ἢ τὴν φ[ο]ροῦσα{σ}ν; KOTANSKY, *Greek Magical Amulets*, Part I, **48**,14f.: εἴλεως ἔσται τῷ φορο[ῦντ]ι [καὶ] τῇ φορούσῃ. Further examples mentioning both 'the bearer' + a personal name can be found in, e.g., O.Ya. NÉVÉROV, *Gemmes, bagues et amulettes magiques du Sud de l'URSS,* in M.B. DE BOER & T.A. EDRIDGE, edd., *Hommages à Maarten J. Vermaseren*, vol. 2, EPRO 68; Leiden, 1978, p. 833-848, no. 47 (b), 3-5: … κύριε ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ καὶ εὐτυχῶς Κτωρίῳ τῷ φοροῦντι, κτλ.; R. KOTANSKY, *Magic in the Court of the Governor of Arabia,* in *ZPE,* 88 (1991), p. 41-60, p. 43, line 36: … Πρόκλον ὃν {ε} ἔτεκεν Σαλαουίνα, τὸν φοροῦντα σου τὴν ἁγίαν καὶ ἀνίκητον δύναμιν (= KOTANSKY, *Greek Magical Amulets,* Part I, **58**, p. 331-346); DANIEL & MALTOMINI, *Suppl. Mag.* I, no. 23, 7-9: … ἀπὸ Καλῆς τῆς φορούσης τὸ φυλ<α>κτήριον τοῦτο; ibid, no. 34A, 9f.: … τοῦ σώματος Ἰωσῆφ τοῦ φοροῦντος τὸ φυλακτήριον. In general, see MALTOMINI, *ZPE* 66 (1986) p. 160, n. 4.

[29] On gems: E. LEBLANT, *750 Inscriptions de Pierres gravées inédites ou peu connues,* Mémoires de l'Institut National de France, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres 36; Paris, 1898, no. 220, p. 85: Εἷς Θεὸς σῶσον φύλαξον τὴν δούλην σου Σευηρῖναν, "One God, save, protect your servant, Severina"; DELATTE & DERCHAIN, *Intailles magiques*, no. 28, p. 35: Ἰάω / διαφύλαξον, σῶσον, "Iaō, protect, save!"

[30] DANIEL & MALTOMINI, *Suppl. Mag.* I, no. 35, 8f.: … Χ(ριστὸ)ς σῴζει Οὐίβιον, ὃν ἔτεκεν Γενναία, "Christ saves Vibius whom Gennaia bore!"; KIRCHOFF in *CIG* IV. 7058: [Ζ]ε[ῦ]? μέγας, σῶζε Σελευκίαν, "O great god, save Seleucia!" (reading [θ]ε[ὲ] μέγας). Another example, with Iaō actually saving the bearer is contained on a gem described by BONNER, *Studies in Magical Amulets*, D271 (p. 298): ... Ιαω Ιαω σῶζε τὸν φοροῦντα τοῦτο τὸ φυλακτήριον, "Iaō, Iaō, save him who bears this phylactery!"

[31] For the association of health with salvation, cf. R. KOTANSKY, *Incantations and Prayers for Salvation on Inscribed Greek Amulets,* in C.A. FARAONE & D. OBBINK, edd., *Magika Hiera. Greek Magic and Religion,* Oxford, 1991, p. 107-137, esp. p. 119-122.

late Christian exorcisms. The programmatic outline of celestial elements by which the gem's unnamed demon is exorcised — abbreviated as it may be — suggests the transcription of an exorcistic text from some model long lost. Telltale signs of the remnants of a liturgical exorcism can be detected in the use of the formulaic ἐξορκίζω σε — targeted against afflicting demons — in the reference to two archangels, and in a general recognition of other celestial elements drawn from the canon of exorcistic texts. The inscription, clearly orthodox in substance, accommodates none of the iconography, magic names, vowels, or mystical χαρακτῆρες usually permitted by such amulets. Now worn as a common talisman for deliverance from harm or evil, the gem would probably no longer have served the original liturgical function underlying its initial composition. Such texts, though compositionally Jewish, must have enjoyed a widely diffused circulation among the generally Christian populations of late antiquity and would have been proudly worn as a kind of post-baptismal amulet, much like the crosses, pendants, and other religious emblems and amulets worn as protective charms in the Greek-speaking East.[32]

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[32] One of the hallmarks of the liturgical exorcisms, discussed above, is the repeated mention of baptism (or some other allusion to water) in the context. Since exorcism and baptism were closely linked in the early Church, the proliferation of such liturgical texts probably met a growing need in the fourth century. The standard study of exorcisms at baptism is still that of H.A. KELLY, *The Devil at Baptism. Ritual, Theology, and Drama,* Ithaca & London, 1985; and more recently, Ch. STEWART, *Demons and the Devil. Moral Imagination in Modern Greek Culture,* Princeton, 1991; see also, R.P.H. GREENFIELD, *Traditions of Belief in Late Byzantine Demonology,* Amsterdam, 1988. Since liturgical exorcisms were regularly performed at baptismal initiations to rid novitiates of unwanted demons, it is tempting to identify at least some inscribed exorcistic amulets as early Christian 'baptismal' prayers worn as protective amulets (see KOTANSKY, *Greek Magical Amulets*, part I, p. 174-180: *Excursus: Liturgical Exorcism, Solomon, and Magic Lamellae*). One is reminded also of the sort of amulets studied most recently by J. SPIER, *Medieval Byzantine Magical Amulets and their Tradition*, in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 56 (1993), p. 25-62; cf. C. BONNER, *Liturgical Fragments on Gnostic Amulets,* in *HTR*, 25 (1932), p. 362-367. Note also F.C. CONYBEARE & A.J. MACLEAN, edd., *Rituale Armenorum*, Oxford, 1905, p. 391-394, for exorcisms in baptismal contexts. A study of the exact relationship between the late Christian liturgical exorcisms and their early (Jewish) counterparts in the magical papyri and kindred texts has yet to be undertaken.